



SATURDAY, July 21. 1722.

To the Author of the London Journal.

S I R,



Propose in this Letter to shew, and I hope to do it unanswerably, that nothing can be a greater Disservice to His Majesty's Interest, more fatal to his Ministry, or more destructive to his People, than to engage them in a new War, if there is but a bare Possibility of preventing it, let the Pretences be what they will. A new Fire seems to be now kindling in Italy, which in all Likelihood will blaze out far and wide; and without Doubt, many Princes will warm their Hands at it, whilst their Subjects will be burnt to Ashes. But I hope we shall have Wit enough to keep out of its Reach, and not be scorched with its Flames; but like some of our wiser Neighbours, shall lie still, and know how to make our Markers of the Follies and Misfortunes of others. We have been Heroes long enough, and paid the Price of our Gallantry and Credulity. We are now near fifty Millions in Debt, and have nothing for it but *Ginsawter* and *Peet-Makes*; and it is said, that some of our Allies have had the Compliment to expect these from us too; and I am sure, if they should be lent or given away, we have nothing left wherewith to compensate any Power which we shall remain hereafter.

I hope no Man will be wild enough to make any Proposal for a new War to us; nor can I guess at any one Argument for it, but what I hope will be called Treason to his Majesty and his Country. Old threadbare Reasons will hold no longer: People will not always deceive themselves, nor be deceived by others. We shall not bear being told again, *That England need but send a Message, or a Packet full of Water, and the Fire will be extinguish'd*. That Argument has already cost us the Terms and Expenses of providing against two Invasions, or several Livings; has lost or spoiled several great Fleets, destroy'd Numbers of our Merchant Ships, increased our National Debt many Millions, and perhaps brought upon us that noble Brand to pay them off, and created the general Want of Trade, and I doubt, that great Distraction which is so often complain'd of; and all the Reward we have met with, has been a Scamper to know what we were in Possession of before, what was yielded to us by Treaty, and what there was no Chance for demanding, if we had thought it our Interest to have lain still.

I hope we shall never engage in a new War, before we have considered all the Consequences which will necessarily or probably happen from such an Engagement, and have thought how we shall get out of it, as well as how we get in to it. The first Step draws in all the rest, and when we are in, we must go through it. We may begin with *Thunders*, but must go on with *Millions*. A Message will produce a *Quarrel*, the *Quarrel* will draw in *Arms*, and *Arms* will end in *War*. We shall know, and have long felt the Miseries of an

Allies. We can no sooner engage in their Squabbles, but they become our own, and then we must pay them for doing their own Business, and largely too, or else they threaten to leave the War upon us; and when it is ended through our Means, always divide the Spoil amongst themselves, and endeavour to make us pay likewise for the Peace. I would be glad to know what any of them have ever done for us; or would suffer us to do for our selves, in return for all that we have done for them, or what Courtesy they have ever shewn to us *Englishmen*, as *Englishmen*? I hope therefore, that we too shall at last, in our Turn, consider only our own Interests, and think what is best for our selves; and not ruin our selves yet further, and let others have the whole Advantage. But if we had no Occasion given us for these Complaints, we have another and a shorter Answer to give to our good Allies, namely, that by helping them so long, we are render'd incapable of helping them any longer; and that all Treaties must cease and become void, when it is impossible to perform them without utter Ruin to one of the Parties, and destroying all the Ends for which their Treaties were made.

Let us take a short Prospect of the Journey we are to go, and of what will be the Result of such an Undertaking. All Naval Armaments must be made at our Charge, and employ'd at a great Distance from Home, to the Ruin of our Ships and our Seamen, and the Obstruction of our Commerce: Armies must be sent abroad, or Money in the Name of subsidies sent out to pay those which are there already; more Armies must be kept at Home to oppose Invasions, and keep the People quiet: Great Land-Taxes must be raised, our Publick Fund be every Year increased, the People lighten'd with perpetual alarms, which will sink the Price of the said Stocks, and consequently be an exorbitant Price upon the raising of new ones: We shall lose a beneficial Trade to Spain and the *Mediterranean*; and probably *Portugal* will take that Opportunity to execute what they long attempted. The *East* too may think it a favourable time to acknowledge some past Obligations, and other Necessity may judge it a proper Time to buy the same that was shewn them; and then we shall have little or no Trade at all, and all our Commodities and Manufactures will be upon our Hands, and the People be starved, or filled by Wages which no honest Man can wish, and all Men ought to dread now.

If France engage on the different Side, we shall have her too for our Enemy; if on the same Side there should be no need of our Alliance: But if she thinks it best to turn to her still; so, who is the next Neighbour to both the *French* and *Spanish*, and is really more concern'd in the Peace, than what we are to do with them at this Distance, we shall know with concern whether the Emperor or Spain shall threaten with, or who has the Power to command that *Spain* shall have them, we shall be looking to it, and shall hear what we have got by the Emperor's being in Possession of them. I purposely avoid saying any thing of the *State* of Germany, because they will certainly have Wit enough to big themselves in the Folds of others, and grow by it.

And what shall we get by such Futile Knight Errantry, but the diminished Glory of former Wars, to our own Disadvantage, and the Contention of poor Cardinals, in tussling about kindly who shall be the victor? Oh, but some tell us, that we are bound by Treaty to preserve the Neutrality of Italy: Whether this is true, or the contrary is true, I know of seven that is true, I know that the only way to preserve it, is to preserve it.

(Price Three Half-pence.)

not; but if it is true, I doubt not, but we shall be told how *England* came to be a Party to such a Treaty; what were the Motives for making it; what Equivalent we had for it; what Interest of ours was served by it; or what other Country, which we were concern'd to preserve, was to reap the Advantage of it. And we ought to enquire too how Treaties, made for our Benefit, have been kept by our Allies; because we are told (I hope, falsely) that one of them had once in his Capacity as Pretender to the King's Throne, with several other Treasures to his Government, and yet instead of delivering them up, let them at Liberty; and lately one of them refused, or declin'd to deliver up a much greater Treasure, which was exactly requested by the Parliament, and without doubt immediately pressed by the King's Ministers.

I do not find that we have any Thing to fear from the King of Spain, if we do not give him Provocation; for the Secretary of State assur'd the Lord Mayor in his Letter last printed, that no foreign Power intended, or gave any Countenance to the late intended Insurrection; and if he would not assist a Conspiracy actually, and as we are told, deeply laid, there can be no Reason to believe that he will form a new one against a State that intends him no harm, and can do him a great deal of good; and surely it is not our Interest at this Time of Day to provoke him to do it in his own Defence. If he and the Emperor have a mind to make a Feast in Italy, let them bid whom they please to the Banquet, which without doubt will be a long one, and many neighbouring Princes will be gorged at it; but for us we have so Business there, unless to be Caterers, to supply the greatest Part of the Provision, and to pay the Reckoning for the rest. I once knew a Wager of Forty to One flaked down to be spent: But instead of engaging our Country in such expensive and wild Whims, I hope we shall catch at so favourable an Opportunity, when those who can most molest us are together by the Ears, to do our own Business, pay off our Debts, settle our Trade, and reform all the Abuses of which we so justly complain.

But if such a War was ever so necessary, how shall it be supported? We find by woful Experience, that three Shillings in the Pound has not maintain'd the current Expence of the Government; but we have run still in Debt. The Money given for the Civil List has not defray'd that Charge, but new and large Sums have been given to pay off the Arrears, which it is said are not yet paid off. New Salaries and new Pensions have been found necessary to satisfy the Clamours of those who will never be satisfied; and the greater Occasions the Courtiers have, and the greater Necessities they are in, more will still be found necessary; for it is no News for useful Men to engage their Superiors in Difficulties, and then to be paid largely for helping them out of them again. The Customs and Excise are anticipated and mortgaged almost beyond Redemption: The Salt, Leather, Windows, and almost every Thing else that can be tax'd, is already tax'd, and some of them so high as to lessen the Produce, and are appropriated to pay off Debts due to private Men.

What new Sources will be found out to maintain a foreign War, and a much larger Expence in our own Country, which will be necessary to defend us against Enemies abroad whom we shall provoke, and against discontented People at home, who, if it is to be feared, may say that they are oppressed and starv'd? One additional Shilling in the Pound upon Land, if the Parliament can be persuaded to give, and the People be easy in paying it, will be but as a Drop of Water thrown into the Ocean, whatever may be pretended for it; and then for all the Remains we must run in Debt, if we can get any one to trust us; and, where I will venture new Funds? Here I doubt our Publicans and Inventors of new Circumstances, will be at their Wits End: It is certain that the greater the Difficulty is in raising them, the greater must be the Price for raising them; and the present Stocks will be less valuable in Proportion, as new Demands make more necessary.

But suppose, to the infinite Disaffection of the People, and the utter Ruin and Destruction of all Trade, the little which is not already tax'd, could be tax'd and cur'd into a Field to create new Markets for French, Jewish, and enough would be rais'd to maintain a War for two or three Years; what shall we do next? It is well sure that the Difficulty of obtaining a Peace will grow in such Proportion, as we become less capable to carry on the War; and what Assistance, think ye, my Countrymen, shall we have from our good Allies to sustain a Point? Whom shall we sell pay the Paper at last, and they will surely let the contending Dominions amongst themselves, and endeavour to make us give up Gibraltar and the Island of Minorca to the Burgundy; and to pay behind a large Sum of Money for the Ships we shall have destroy'd, and the other Mischief which we shall have done, and which we need not do. I hope it will never be

our Lot to assist some of our Neighbours at a vast Expence, and then reward them at a further Expence for accepting our Assistance; and to bear others of our Neighbours of our own Loss as well as theirs, and pay them afterwards for having beat them: What would the World think of us in this Case, but that *France* had got the Plague, *England* had got the Plague, and that we were weakening our Elbow as fast with our own Hands, as the Divine Hand had weaken'd them?

But if after all we cannot get a Peace, or shall think it not to submit to the impossible Conditions which our honest and faithful Confederates shall judge good enough for themselves, what shall we do then? They will have no Motives to serve us, when they have done their own Business, or rather when we have done it for them; and they have sufficiently shown already what Inclination they have to serve us, and if ever they have done it, they have been well paid for their Pains: What Condition shall we then be in to oppose one or more powerful Neighbours, and perhaps victorious ones too, when we are enervated and exhausted, when our People are dishearten'd at home, and we have no regular Means to maintain Fleets and Armies, who must be forc'd to maintain themselves if we cannot maintain them? These Mischief (and terrible ones they are) may be easily foreseen, and ought to be prevented, if we would prevent absolute and conclusive Ruin? What think you, must, in such a Circumstance of Affairs, become of the Funds? If we lie still, they are lost of Course; and if we apply them to our necessary Defence, thousands and thousands of innocent People must be undone and become desperate, and infinitely inflame the popular Discontents, and still make more Taxes, more, more Oppressions necessary: And yet who will be found so hard-hearted as not to sacrifice the Interests of Thousands to the Safety of Millions, when no other Resource is left?

Beware, my Friends, of the first Step, and know your whole Journey, before you move one Foot; when you are up to the Ears in Mire, it will be too late to look back. At first we may be told by our Confederates and their Creatures, that we need only bounce a little and make a show of Force, and every Thing will go to our Mind; but a burst Child will dread the Fire: When we are engag'd we cannot retreat; one Step will draw another; it will not depend upon our selves whether we shall go on or not; the Game will be fixed in other Hands, who will play it to their own Advantage, without regarding ours; and what we begin in Weakness, will probably end in our Confusion.

What then must we think of any Men amongst us, who would draw all these Mischief, these inevitable Mischief, upon their Country? They must certainly be egregiously foolish or consummately wicked. I hope and believe there are no such; but if there are, without doubt they have taken their Measures, and have thought how to save themselves, whatever becomes of their Country; but in that too they may chance to be mistaken.

If it is necessary to the publick Safety to keep eight or ten Camps in Readiness for Action in Times of full Peace, and when there is no outward Appearance of publick Disturbance, and no foreign Power presses or seeks any such: How many Camps will be necessary when we have Enemies encamping us from abroad, and combining and intriguing with our own native Traitors at home, especially if the People should be made still more uneasy by laying Burdens upon them which they cannot bear nor stand under? For my own Part, I can see no steady Source or continuing Cause for the Disaffection so much complained of, but the great and heavy Variety of Taxes, of which our Ancestors knew nothing, and which it is a sort of a Science now to know; and I doubt that Disaffection will not be cur'd by adding to the Number.

We can never, therefore, behave our selves with more true Duty to his Majesty, give better Advice and Assistance to his Ministry, or engage our selves with more Fidelity to our Country, than by opposing, in the most vigorous Manner, such Measures as threaten them all with Ruin; and by showing the small Parliament against any ill designing Person, who would wickedly and ungenerously sacrifice a great, free, and valiant Kingdom to bad Whimsies, or the pitiful mean Impulse of a bad State.

I am, Sir,

Your most Humble Servant,

CATO.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Like some former Letters, mention'd that the Duke of Muenchenberg was to discuss about to agree with his Nobility, perhaps to a Plan received from the Russian Ministry, yet it is now otherwise, for he is still at Danzig; and it is reported, that the Czar is in Treaty with him to purchase his Dominions, in order by that Means to be enabled

On Thursday last two Parties paid the Great Seal for W. Wood, Esq. to make Copper Money for the Kingdom of Ireland; and Half Pence, Pence, and Two Pence of fine Metal, for the Use of his Majesty's Dominions in America, for the Term of 14 Years; and the Copper Stereotype will shortly be set on foot.

Two most magnificent Monuments are now erecting in Westminster-Abbey, one for the late Duke of Buckingham, as the Charge of his Dumbness, which is near finished, and another for the late Duke of Newcastle, at the Expense of the Right Honourable the Lord Harley, who married his Grace's only Daughter, which will likewise be brought to Perfection in a few Month's Time.

On Sunday last a Child of about six Years old was burnt to Death at Dunfermline. It seems a Candle was left in the Room with it, which by some Accident firing the Sheets and Curtains, the poor Babe was a most miserable Fate. It is amazing that Parents and Nurses should be so negligent, and when there are so many undisturbed Instances of this kind, it is indeed a sad and a shocking Sight.

Our last Addition from the Flag-ship and the News concerning the Dutch East-India Trade; Homewardbound, that these Ships are not indeed of Two, as hath been mentioned, and that the five which were missing are arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, greatly enabled, and their Cargoes much damaged, which has caused India Agents there to sell very considerably.

On Friday Morning last, one Mr. Macartney and a French Gentleman coming in a Coach through Southampton Street, Covent Garden, had some Words, upon which they alighted, and each after drew their Swords: The latter is so much wounded, that Justice Vaughan hath committed Macartney to the Gate-house.

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Whit. 1s 10 to 2s 6 per Quart.

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BOOKS proper to be given away.

1. Directions for the devout and proper Use of

the common-Prayer, in the daily Service of the Church, price 2 s.

2. The Duty of Prayer in a Holy and Virtuous Life, price 2 s.

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